

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

59-52

Action
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Classification

Control: 15191

Rec'd: MAY 20, 1960

12:52 PM

FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: POLTO 2306, MAY 20, 3 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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FXSENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2306, REPEATED INFORMATION USUN POLTO 8,
ALL OTHER NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNNUMBERED.

FROM US DEL

REPORT OF RESTRICTED NAC MTG, MAY 19

SUBJECT: CIRCUMSTANCES OF FAILURE HOLD SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS
AND RELATED QUESTIONS

MTG WAS ATTENDED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS OF US, UK, FRANCE,
GERMANY AND TURKEY; OTHER NATO COUNTRIES REPRESENTED BY
THEIR PERMREPS OR THEIR DEPUTIES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRE-
ARRANGEMENTS, COUVE DE MURVILLE (FRANCE) LED OFF WITH
FACTUAL RESUME OF EVENTS COMMENCING SUNDAY, MAY 15,
ALL OF WHICH HAS BEEN PUBLISHED OR REPORTED SEPARATELY.
THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT COMMENT WAS THAT KHRUSHCHEV AND RUSSIAN
DELEGATION'S WORDS AND ACTIONS IN PARIS INDICATED CLEAR
DESIRE BY USSR TO PREVENT HOLDING OF SUMMIT CONFERENCE.

SECRETARY HERTER SPOKE NEXT, HE ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF
WHY KHRUSHCHEV DECIDED TO PREVENT A SUMMIT CONFERENCE,
NOTING THAT US OVERFLIGHTS OF SOVIET TERRITORY HAD BEEN
GOING ON FOR FOUR YEARS AND THAT VERY VALUABLE INTELLIGENCE
HAD BEEN GATHERED BY THIS METHOD. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT
KHRUSHCHEV HAD DETERMINED BEFORE COMING TO PARIS THAT
SUMMIT CONFERENCE WOULD BE NON-PRODUCTIVE FROM SOVIET
POINT OF VIEW AND THEREFORE SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE. HE QUOTED
FROM PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT. WITH REGARD
TO OSTENSIBLE REASON GIVEN BY KHRUSHCHEV, SECRETARY SAID

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-2- POLTO 2306, MAY 20, 3 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM PARIS

THAT PRESIDENT'S CLEAR STATEMENT THAT OVERFLIGHTS WOULD BE TERMINATED AND NOT RESUMED REMOVED THIS ISSUE. HE ALSO STATED THAT AT NO TIME HAD US GOVERNMENT STATED IN TERMS THAT OVERFLIGHTS WOULD BE CONTINUED.

AS TO REAL REASON FOR SOVIET ACTION, SECRETARY GAVE HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT KHRUSHCHEV TORPEDOED CONFERENCE BECAUSE HE THOUGHT CONFERENCE WOULD NOT BRING RESULTS NECESSARY TO SATISFY KHRUSHCHEV'S REQUIREMENTS AT HOME. EVIDENCE FOR THIS HAD BEEN MOUNTING SINCE KHRUSHCHEV'S BAKU SPEECH. NATO CONFERENCE AND COMMUNIQUE AT ISTANBUL HAD REINFORCED FIRMNESS WESTERN POSITION. THERE WAS EVIDENCE OF DOMESTIC PRESSURE UPON KHRUSHCHEV IN OPPOSITION TO DETENTE, AS WELL AS CHINESE COMMUNIST PRESSURE.

SECRETARY SAID THAT NATURALLY US REGRETS WHAT HAS HAPPENED; BUT IF PRETEXT OF OVERFLIGHTS HAD NOT BEEN AVAILABLE, KHRUSHCHEV MIGHT WELL HAVE SEIZED SOME OTHER PRETEXT. IN CONCLUDING STATEMENT, SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT OVERFLIGHT RECONNAISSANCE HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN INTERESTS OF ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

LLOYD (UK), AGREEING WITH COUVE AND SECRETARY, POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD MET WITH GROMYKO FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS TUESDAY NIGHT TO TEST RUSSIAN INTENTIONS, AND IT WAS CLEAR TO HIM THAT RUSSIANS DID NOT WANT SUMMIT MTG. THEREAFTER STATEMENT OF THREE WESTERN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WAS ISSUED.

LLOYD SAID FRANKLY THAT BRITISH VIEW HAS BEEN THAT CONTINUED TENSIONS IN WORLD WERE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO SOVIETS THAN TO WEST. THUS UK REGRETTED FAILURE TO HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO NEGOTIATE ON MAJOR ISSUES WITH USSR AT SUMMIT. HE SAID THAT KHRUSHCHEV HAD ACTED LIKE A MAN QUOTE MENTALLY DERANGED UNQUOTE AND THIS OBVIOUSLY CREATES A DANGEROUS SITUATION. HE NOTED THAT IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ACTION WERE TO PRODUCE GREATER SOLIDARITY IN WEST, AND PRAISED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S DIGNIFIED AND RESTRAINED CONDUCT. LLOYD COMMENTED THAT WEST MUST NOT SEEK TO SHOW

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-3- POLTO 2306, MAY 20, 3 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM PARIS

WHERE WE WERE WRONG, BUT RATHER PLACE EMPHASIS OF GRAVITY OF SOVIET ACTIONS.

REFERRING TO KHRUSHCHEV'S SUGGESTION OF SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS POSTPONEMENT OF SUMMIT TALKS, HE NOTED THAT THIS TIME PERIOD HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT AMENDED IN LATER REMARK BY KHRUSHCHEV TO PRESS TO EFFECT THAT SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS COULD COME ABOUT SOONER. LLOYD NOTED KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENT TO MACMILLAN THAT PROBLEM OF BERLIN MUST BE TREATED ON DIFFERENT BASIS FROM OTHER EAST/WEST PROBLEMS, INCLUDING DISARMAMENT, INDICATING THAT KHRUSHCHEV LEFT WAY OPEN TO PLAY BERLIN QUESTION EITHER TOUGHLY OR GRADUALLY, SOONER OR LATER. TO MACMILLAN, KHRUSHCHEV HAD SAID "WE ARE OBLIGED TO SEEK A UNILATERAL SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM".

ALESSANDRINI (ITALY) THANKED THREE MINISTERS FOR THEIR ACCOUNTS AND VIEWS; EXPRESSED ITALY'S SOLIDARITY WITH US AND HER NATO ALLIES; EXPRESSED VIEW THAT NATO COMMUNIQUE SHOULD EXPRESS NATO'S CONTINUING DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

DE RANITZ (NETHERLANDS) REFERRED TO LUNS RECENT STATEMENT, IN WHICH HE SAID THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE OF SUMMIT CONFERENCE RESTS SOLELY UPON USSR; EXPRESSED ENTIRE AGREEMENT WITH WEST'S CONDUCT OF THIS AFFAIR; MADE STRONG PLEA FOR GREATER UNITY OF WEST IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES; AND POINTED TO DANGER IMPLICIT IN KHRUSHCHEV'S APPARENT MENTAL INSTABILITY.

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59-52

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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

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SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2306, REPEATED INFORMATION USUN POLTO 8,
ALL OTHER NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNNUMBERED.

BRENTANO (GERMAN) MADE BRIEF ANALYSIS OF BERLIN
PROBLEM, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS MORE DANGEROUS NOW
THAN BEFORE. SAID THAT NATO MUST WORK OUT A COMMON POSITION
IN EVENT SOVIETS CONCLUDE A SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH EAST
GERMANY.

MELAS (GREECE) SAID THAT STRENGTH OF NATO ALLIANCE MORE
NECESSARY THAN EVER AT THIS DANGEROUS JUNCTURE.

DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) REFERRED TO WIGN'S RECENT STATEMENT,
POINTING OUT THAT AFTER PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF DISCONT-
INUANCE OF OVERFLIGHTS, KHRUSHCHEV HAD NO REAL EXCUSE
FOR TORPEDOING CONFERENCE. HE APPEALED FOR RESOLUTION AND
FIRMNESS, AND THOUGHT THAT PRESENT SITUATION SHOULD NOT
BE OVER-DRAMATIZED DE STAERCKE ASKED WHAT IS ENVISAGED
FOR FUTURE NATO CONSULTATION AGAINST QUOTE CERTAIN
POSSIBILITIES UNQUOTE AND ASKED STATUS OF CONTINGENCY
PLANNING ON BERLIN.

DE FARIA (PORTUGAL) BACKED POSITION OF THREE WESTERN POWERS
FULLY; SPOKE OF PORTUGAL'S QUOTE FRIENDSHIP AND AFFECTION
FOR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER UNQUOTE AND SAID NO OTHER CONDUCT
ON PART OF WEST WAS POSSIBLE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. THOUGHT
LESSON TO BE DRAWN WAS CLOSER UNITY OF NATO ALLIANCE.

ZORLU (TURKEY) THANKED THREE WESTERN MINISTERS; EXPRESSED
VIEW THAT U-2 INCIDENT (IN WHICH TURKEY QUOTE INVOLVED
UNQUOTE) SHOWED CLEARLY US DOING THINGS NECESSARY FOR

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SAFETY OF ITS ALLIES. ZORLU POINTED OUT THAT RUSSIANS VIOLATE TERRITORIAL WATERS AND AIRSPACE OF TURKEY FOR ESPIONAGE PURPOSES. THOUGHT USSR MUST HAVE HAD A LONG-RANGE AIM AND USED OVERFLIGHT INCIDENT AS CONVENIENT INSTRUMENT. THOUGHT NEVERTHELESS WESTERN POWERS SHOULD PURSUE OBJECTIVE OF CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, REMAINING VERY SOLID AND UNIFIED IN PROCESS. POINTED OUT THAT WEST HAVE HAD CRISES OF THIS NATURE BEFORE, MOST RECENTLY IN SOVIET THREATS AGAINST BERLIN IN 1958, WHICH HAD BEEN RESISTED BY CALM, FIRM, AND UNIFIED ATTITUDE ON PART OF WEST. THOUGHT SOVIETS SAW AN OPENING IN OVERFLIGHT INCIDENT TO SPLIT ALLIANCE, BUT THOUGHT THEY KNOW NOW THAT THEY MISCALCULATED. ESSENTIAL LESSON, ZORLU THOUGHT, IS GREATER COORDINATION OF WESTERN POLICY THROUGH CONSULTATION AND UNBREAKABLE SOLIDARITY OF ALLIANCE. WE MUST NOT LEAVE RUSSIANS HOPE, HE SAID, OF EXPLOITING A TACTICAL ADVANTAGE. WE MUST BE BOLDER AND MORE DETERMINED AND AVOID ATTITUDE OF DEFENSIVENESS.

LEGER (CANADA) REFERRED TO DIEFENBAKER'S RECENT STATEMENT AND READ FROM IT. SAID CANADA AGREES WITH COMMUNIQUE OF THREE WESTERN POWERS. RAISED FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS: (1) WILL EAST/WEST NUCLEAR TESTING NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE AND WILL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE CONTINUE? (2) REFERRING TO MENTION OF CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR BERLIN AT NATO MINISTERIAL MTG APRIL 1959, ASKED WHETHER THOSE PLANS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED AND WHETHER ANY CHANGES OR AMENDMENTS HAD BEEN MADE IN THEM. (3) CANADA THINKS SUGGESTION BY KHRUSHCHEV FOR SUMMIT MTG SOME MONTHS FROM NOW SHOULD BE PURSUED, DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE SHOULD CONTINUE, AND WELCOMES PROPOSAL OF PRESIDENT FOR UN AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC PROGRAM AS MEASURE AGAINST SURPRISE ATTACK.

WITH REGARD TO COORDINATING NATO POSITIONS CONCERNING SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS, LEGER THOUGHT THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN NEW YORK.

THOUGHT LESSON FROM RECENT EVENTS IS THAT WEST SHOULD

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-3- PMT 2201. 1000, 3 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM PARIS

CLOSE RANKS; IF NATO WANTS MINISTERIAL MTG TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS FURTHER, CANADA WILL SOLELY ATTEND.

LLOYD PICKED UP REMARKS AND QUESTIONS CONCERNING BERLIN. HE SAID WEST CANNOT PREVENT RUSSIANS SIGNING A TREATY WITH EAST GERMANY, BUT CAN AND WILL MAKE CLEAR THAT THERE WILL BE NO INTERFERENCE WITH RIGHTS OF ACCESS. WITH REGARD TO CONTINGENCY PLANNING, SAID THAT THESE HAD BEEN DISCUSSED FURTHER AND QUOTE WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE PROVISIONAL PLANS UNQUOTE. STATED THAT ACTUAL DECISIONS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN IN LIGHT OF EVENTS AT THE TIME, SINCE SOME OF THESE DECISIONS VERY SERIOUS. PROMISED FULL CONSULTATION IN NATO BEFORE DECISIONS TAKEN QUOTE WHICH MIGHT INVOLVE WAR UNQUOTE.

SECRETARY HERTER PICKED UP QUESTIONS ON DISARMAMENT; SAID WE PLAN TO CONTINUE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA, IT BEING PLANNED TO HAVE WESTERN FIVE MEET ABOUT MAY 30 TO PREPARE FOR RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN JUNE. POINTED OUT NUCLEAR TESTING CONFERENCE MTG NOW, WITH SCIENTISTS TRYING TO FIND COMMON GROUND.

SPAACK, SUMMING UP, SAID NAC UNITED BEHIND POSITION OF WESTERN THREE, AND NOTED TRIBUTES PAID TO DIGNITY AND RESTRAINT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER. STATED THAT SOLIDARITY OF NATO COUNTRIES ON FOREIGN POLICY IS QUOTE COMPLETE UNQUOTE. REMARKED THAT SOME MYSTERIES REMAIN, BOTH IN KHRUSHCHEV'S REASONS FOR TORPEDOING SUMMIT AND HIS FUTURE MOVES. SAID THIS COUNCIL MTG WAS FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES MAINLY AND NATURALLY CONSULTATION ON THESE MATTERS MUST CONTINUE.

NOTED THAT TESTING CONFERENCE IS CONTINUING AND THAT DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE WILL BE RESUMED, IN SPITE LACK OF HOPED-FOR SHOT IN ARM FORM SUMMIT CONFERENCE.

ON BERLIN, SPAACK NOTED THAT NAC RECOGNIZED NATO-WIDE INTEREST IN THIS PROBLEM AND MEANS OF DEALING WITH IT AND

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NOTED LLOYD'S STATEMENT THAT NAC WILL BE KEPT INFORMED OF,
AND IF POSSIBLE APPROVE, POSITIONS TAKEN.

SPAAK THEN TABLED SHORT DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WHICH, AFTER
MINOR AMENDMENT, WAS ADOPTED AND PUBLISHED.

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